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In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 5.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From John Mitchell's "Citizen."

### SLAVERY.

To the REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

REVEREND SIR—You will be surprised to see a letter addressed to you by one whom you supposed to be dead. In your Anti-Slavery lecture, as reported in the *Tribune*, I find that you have, with your usual courtesy, and with your usual kindness, expressed the loud hiss of your hearers in consideration of the respect due to the deceased. This morning I have read my own epitaph in the *Tribune*, and even an account of the corner-stone of my monument—which must have greatly affected me, if I have any.

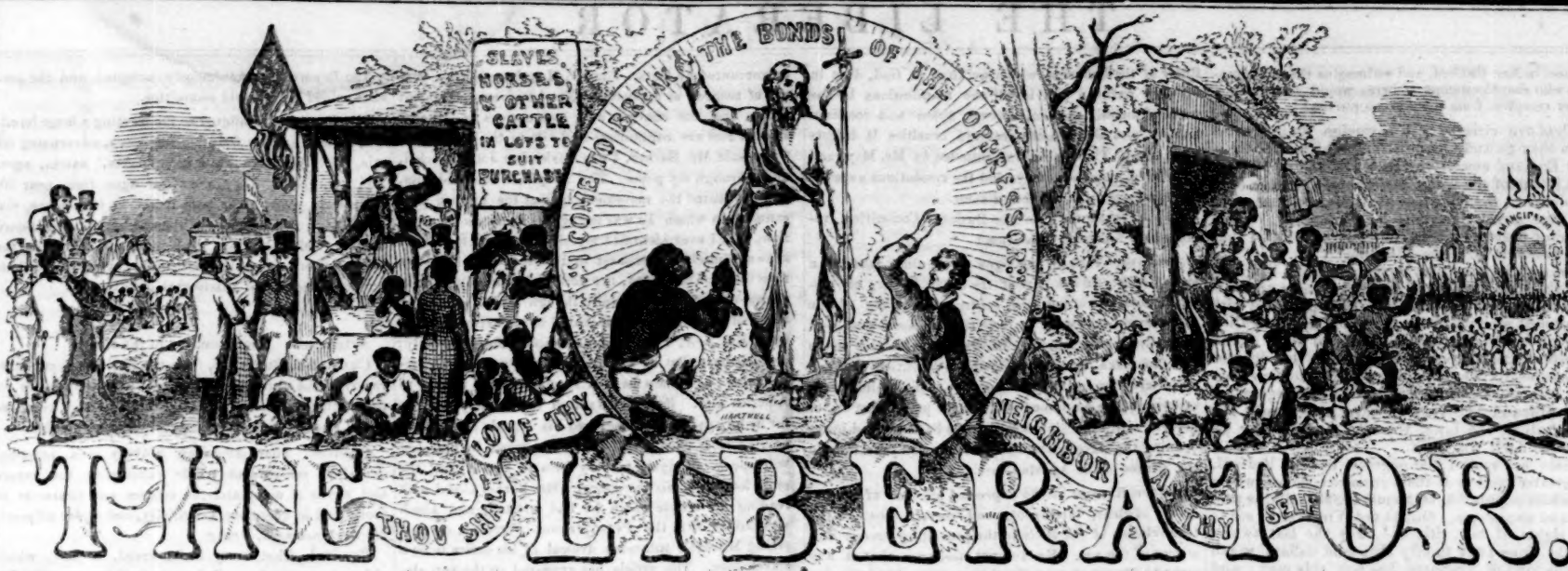
I find myself therefore in the position of Partridge, the almsman-maker, who had to come before the public to prove himself alive, notwithstanding the obituary notice of Dean Swift—and had even much trouble in establishing the fact. It is a hard necessity—you may be difficult to convince; and may choose even to regard me as a madman, or a profane clown, or a victim from the tombs—but I will try to satisfy your reverence.

The New York *Tribune*, first—next a small fry of newspapers whose names I forget—and lastly, your facetious reverence, in your paper, the *Independent*,—all have poured out on me a torrent of virtuous indignation, simply because I refused to brand as criminals a large proportion of the citizens of this Republic, and about one-half of all the human beings who have ever lived in the world besides. You and the *Tribune*, and the *Bonapartists* of this enlightened century, have found out a new crime—as if there had not been enough before—and when any man has to do with the world, he is bound to brand as criminals a large proportion of the citizens of this Republic, and about one-half of all the human beings who have ever lived in the world besides. You and the *Tribune*, and the *Bonapartists* of this enlightened century, have found out a new crime—as if there had not been enough before—and when any man has to do with the world, he is bound to brand as criminals a large proportion of the citizens of this Republic, and about one-half of all the human beings who have ever lived in the world besides.

And I find a verdict of *felony* upon his corpse. I am, also, a *felon* in the eyes of the *Tribune*, and the *Independent*, and the *Bonapartists*. But what if the disappointment is owing not to my fault, but to your stupidity? For here is your reasoning—I tried to destroy British dominion in Ireland; but I decline to say that half of the American citizens are criminals—therefore I am a *felon* in your eyes. In my struggle with England, (I quote from your article in the *Independent*), and the *Tribune* makes no scruple to say, "that if liberty for Ireland and the Irish is sought in the spirit evinced, and on the principles avowed by 'The Citizen,' it can hardly be necessary to say that the effort will be fruitless, and the hope of our champions a mockery. Alas! for the aspirations of the oppressed and exiled, if their inclination to struggle for liberty is the horrible desire for buying, selling, and lashing each other." I confess that I can make no sense out of such language. Benevolence is good, but a little light is better than no light. Let us see how it would apply in another case. General Washington, the father of his country, saw no crime or peccadillo in holding slaves, and in making them work on his farm. Gen. Washington wished to possess, and did possess till he died, and says took good care of a plantation stocked with negroes, not in Alabama, but in Virginia. Nay, he wished to possess more plantations; otherwise he certainly never would have offered \$500 for Mr. Clinton's. Thomas Jefferson, the greatest of the founders of American democracy, lived and died a slaveholder, and bequeathed his slaves to his relatives. Therefore, if you reverence would boldly attack your mind, you would attack the leaders in the *Tribune*, that Washington was a catfish, and Jefferson a thistle, or a hideous bag.

I know what you will say,—that those illustrious men, though slaveholders, always felt and said that slavery was an incubus, and a curse to the country. To this I will only say, that I have never seen any man who gave no opinion. (1) But the National Debt is an incubus and curse to England—and yet many good men, believing it to be so, hold bonds, and even go so far as to buy stocks in the three and a half per cent.

But you, crusaders of abolition, are not content with rest on grounds of policy. You will rest the case on grounds of principle. You will have it that those who differ from you, and agree with the wisest of mankind, are fools or villains. You have a number of exclamations and interjections always ready; and you seem to think that people will take them for reasons. "What!" you say, "can a man be a *felon* who has no *felony*?" Why not? The *Liberator* has a *felon* who has no *felony*. (2) "Would you sell a being with an immortal soul?" CERTAINLY: Moses and the prophets did the same. "Would you send back a fugitive to his master?" Absolutely: Paul, the Apostle, very honestly sent back the fleeing *Phileas*, and begged of his owner, the worthy *Phileas*, to send him back. "Would you follow a laborer to forgive his returning slave?" (3) Was Paul a hideous bag? Believe me, it is your reverence who is an old woman. You will never get a new code of morality received among men. We will never consent to believe that you are a better Christian than the Founder of that religion; that you love Liberty better than those immortal Greeks who invented it—that you are a truer Republican than all the Republicans of ancient and modern times, and of both hemispheres. This is undoubtedly a great country, and thinks it knows much; but I have always been accustomed to thank God that I am behind my age. (4) It is a matter of fact that I do not affect to be ignorant that your little school claim the Founder of the Christian religion as an abolitionist; not by reason of any positive condemnation or prohibition of slavery or slaveholding; but by reason of what you call the development of the religion, which you suppose to be growing and advancing, as many good men suppose. "Do you dwell upon the great precept, 'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you'—and you say that he is an abolitionist. Though a laic, I will venture to suggest to you, most learned clerk, a simple explanation of the text, which, perhaps, never occurred to you before. It means, do unto others as you would wish (if they were in your circumstances, and you in theirs) that they should do unto you. If you are a creditor, treat your debtor with forbearance and consideration which, if you are the debtor and he the creditor, you might reasonably wish and expect him to use towards you. This does not mean, creditors discharge your debtors free. Again, if you are a slaveholder, treat your slave with gentleness, humanity, and kindness, rewarding him when he does well, never punishing him wantonly or oppressively—in short, just as you could reasonably wish, were you the slave and he the master, that he would behave towards you. Therefore, the injunction in the New Testament is, not, masters, scourge your slaves, but, be merciful to your slaves—SLAVES, BE OBEYENT TO YOUR MASTERS.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1854.

WHOLE NUMBER 1200.

But I said something of slaves being lashed. Yes: the very idea of a slave includes the idea of coercion, but does not at all include the idea of cruelty; and I should feel for a plantation of negroes, and your reverence and the *Tribune*, with great candor, proclaim that I want slaves, in order to have the luxury of flogging them. Does any man marry a wife, that he may have the pleasure of beating his children? Yet he who spareth the rod, spoileth the child. Does any man buy a horse for the sake of whipping him? Did Washington keep negroes merely that he might indulge in thrashing them? In fact, I wanted to set down the principle as nakedly as possible—that it is *not* wrong to hold a slave—from this principle it follows, that it is not wrong to make a slave work; and there is no way of making him work (in the last resort) than *drudgery*.

This is an ungracious task I find myself forced to undertake. On my side, in this controversy, everything sounds harsh and looks repulsive. Your reverence has chosen, if not the better, at least, the balmy part. Yours is the privilege, dear to the enlightened modern heart, of uttering kind words, and it comes easy to you (for the prevailing notions are with you) to assume, for yourself and your followers, the credit of benevolence, and philanthropy, and enlightenment, and 'progress,' and all the rest of it; while I, to escape the charge of barbarous cruelty and blind-thirsty atrocity, am forced to shield myself under the authority of more ancient, persons behind the curtain. This is an ungracious task I find myself forced to undertake. On my side, in this controversy, everything sounds harsh and looks repulsive. Your reverence has chosen, if not the better, at least, the balmy part. Yours is the privilege, dear to the enlightened modern heart, of uttering kind words, and it comes easy to you (for the prevailing notions are with you) to assume, for yourself and your followers, the credit of benevolence, and philanthropy, and enlightenment, and 'progress,' and all the rest of it; while I, to escape the charge of barbarous cruelty and blind-thirsty atrocity, am forced to shield myself under the authority of more ancient, persons behind the curtain.

Thus the ideal of a slaveholder's position is a true patriarchy. (1) He is the father of a family. And how much higher are his duties and responsibilities than those of a mere employer for money wages, between whom and his laborer the *modus vivendi* is cash payment. If he do his duty, how much higher he stands in the scale of God's creatures, than the man who merely pays his workmen their wages on Saturday night, and dismisses them to the grog-shop! If he do his duty, or if he abuse his power, may God forgive him! Before closing this letter, I shall quote for you, a sentence or two from another good observer of the world, Father Kenyon: "In general," he says, "I regard the whole question as one whose importance is much exaggerated by fancy—perchance by fanaticism. We are all slaves, in a thousand senses of the word: slaves to time, to place, to circumstance; to the habits of our great-grandfathers on either side, and to the whims of our maternal ancestors in all their nonsensical generations; to fire, air, earth and water, throughout all their analyses; to tailors—a most galling yoke; to snuff, wash-water, quacks, poltermeas, umbrellas, London merchants, native millers, and royal engineers. As to all these slaveries there are superadded one other—namely, slavery to slaveholders. I cannot see that our position will be very essentially deteriorated." (2)

Now, your reverence is a slave: a slave to certain words and phrases, which have got the mastery over your mind, and thus over your body too. You are as one possessed by them. They make you cry out, and gesticulate violently, and toil and sweat, and revile passers-by. Who will emancipate you, unhappy congregational pastor! You call these noisy spirits that possess you, principles; and you ask me where is my 'principle' too. You tell me that you thought I had risen up against English dominion in Ireland, 'for a principle.' God forbid! I trust that I have no principles of this sort; but that who knows his own heart? Who can tell whether he is truly emancipated or not? I do not flatter myself that, in seeking to throw off the dominion of England, I was actuated by no other principle than intolerance of insolent and ignorant oppression: my principle was simply that *Irishmen* were fitted for a higher destiny and sphere, and that they all ought to feel British dominion as intolerable as I did. My principle was, that the *Irish* were fitted for a higher destiny and sphere, and that they all ought to feel British dominion as intolerable as I did. My principle was, that the *Irish* were fitted for a higher destiny and sphere, and that they all ought to feel British dominion as intolerable as I did.

You see I am but narrow-minded. My thoughts are not world-wide and sky-high, like your reverence's. Yet I submit that you have no right to call me a 'pretender,' (see the *Independent*), because I never did pretend to anything higher, *deeper* than the above. Spare me, therefore, your righteous indignation—as I am so far behind the age, do not try to drag me on—I can never keep up with you. Your reverence, indeed, will soon be clear out of my sight; and I wish you a good journey. Adieu. JOHN MITCHELL.

New York, Jan'y 23d, 1854.

"They were a commodity transferable by purchase and sale," says Michael; and he has even a section devoted to an inquiry into the prices usually realized. In war time, he says, when any city was taken, or victory won, the prices fell greatly, because the market was glutted. The same commentator shows clearly that the punishment of death descended against *murdering*, only referred to the stealing of Hebrews, the text of Exodus 21, being explained and limited by Deut. 24.

It is precisely as if there were a law in America, whereby all American citizens, who might have fallen into the state of slavery, were to be set free at two stated periods in each year—the 1st and 50th—that is to say, as he explains it, at the end of seven years from the date of the slave's falling into slavery, (the sabbatical year had nothing to do with it); and, at any rate, in the jubilee year, whether he had been then seven years in slavery or not. But nothing of all this applied to the slaves purchased from foreigners or taken in war, or to the children of such slaves.

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Now, if a man's slave was his inheritance, and his children's inheritance, and his money, and if, in the whole Mosaic law, there is to be found but one enactment against selling, that is forbidding a man to sell his wife, if she was also his slave—(forbidding it not because she was his slave, but because she was his wife—then clearly we are entitled to assume that slaves were a marketable commodity among the Jews, as they were amongst all other nations of antiquity.

I hope, therefore, you will tell your hearers at your next lectures, that you have been misapprehending Moses all this time; and that, in fact, the Mosaic law imposed no restrictions upon slavery at all, except in the case of Israelitish slaves; a class of restrictions which are here happily unnecessary, as no American citizen can sell himself into slavery, or become a slave even for debt, as a Hebrew citizen might.

So much for authority. And as to the nature of Liberty itself, I believe it is a thing little understood in these times. 'Liberty requires new definitions,' saith Carlyle. 'The true liberty of a man, you would say, consisted in his finding out, or being forced, to find out, the right path, and to walk thereon; to learn, or to be taught, what would be actually able for; and thus, by permission, persuasion, and even compulsion, to set about doing of the same. That is his true blessedness, honor, liberty, and maximum of well-being.'—Rightly, as it seems to me, the same writer again explains the meaning of all 'rights of man,' the right of the ignorant man to be guided by the wiser, to be gently or forcibly held in the truth and the slaves of Alabama—those slaves, a portion of which you covet. If that were the case, there would be no more anxious agitation, no more hope of obtaining redress for your religious and political grievances, no more emigration of those who desired to seek liberty in America, would be advertised, hunted down, thrown into jail, and given up to their owners, upon the arbitrary decision of any inferior judge. They would, then, according to you, be better lodged and better fed than they are now. I will admit this pretended advantage, and I ask your ragged and hungry Irish brethren, if they would buy clothes and bread at the price of their own persons? A thousand times no! would answer all these men, who are worthy of a better fate, if it were only because they aspire, not to the well-fed state of domestic animals, but to well-being, with liberty for its first condition.

If your words could be taken seriously; if tomorrow, I say, the British Government, convinced, like yourself, of the superior condition of the black slaves over the Irish, should attempt to carry out your theory, what would happen? This—that the most beggarly of your countrymen would rebel to die in poverty, but, at least, uncontented by the stains of abject slavery, even though servitude fed and clothed them.

A man of your talent, sir, should not make these imaginary parallels, which vanish on the slightest examination. And, if you will allow me to say it, in spite of the respect due to your brilliant talents, it is greatly presumptuous to compare yourself to Moses, Socrates, or to Jesus Christ, while breaking a lance in favor of slavery. Never did Moses, nor Socrates, nor Jesus Christ, sanction, as you have done, the ownership of one man by another.

As to the father of Christianity, he has generally been proclaimed, and with justice, the greatest of abolitionists. To prove this, it is not necessary to quote many texts: 'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you.' 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' Is there an oppression upon the earth, call it despotism or slavery, which the noblest and most self-sacrificing of men would not have been ready to die for? Has the Crucified One ever appeared to tell you that the black or the white man was not your brother? Or, has he ever authorized you to buy, to sell, and to lash the flesh of slaves, when it would seem to you abominable to buy and sell, and to subject to infamous chastisement yourself? What! Christ, the friend of all the poor, of all the unfortunate, not an abolitionist! Excuse the expression, sir, but this is a blasphemy against truth.

If you are a Christian, you cannot draw so false a conclusion from the Gospel. If you are only a Catholic, you are guilty of heresy—you are in opposition to the Pope.

What language, sir, and what a wish! A captive who has just broken bonds, comparatively light, and who declares that he is not an abolitionist, that is to say, that he desires to keep upon the slaves the heavy fetters they wear! A man who proclaims Queen Victoria and her ministers outlawed from humanity, for their treatment of him and his, and who calls legitimate the hundred times more degrading, more poignant, more painful cruelties of severe military discipline, than those which might have defied you to produce a single word of his, favorable to your strange doctrine. The spirit of his speeches has always been that of the immortal act of his dictatorship, the abolition of serfdom in Hungary.

Mazzini, the embodiment of devotion, has given proofs of his sympathy with every form of suffering, of his hatred for every form of tyranny. In an article which was published in Boston, in 1846, he attacked, in burning words, the slavery of the United States.

Victor Hugo, besides an admirable letter, in which he asserts his firm hope of seeing, on some future day, free America purified from the most shameful of stains, might show you that passage in his *Châtiments*, where he says:—

"L'Europe en rougisait dit: Quoi! j'avais des rois! Et l'Amérique dit: Quoi! j'avais des esclaves!"

Such men as these, sir, are the true forerunners of the Universal Republic—they recognize no others. Whoever approves of the oppression of any race, under any form, is the enemy of the Universal Republic.

If you care nothing about the Universal Republic, if Ireland alone interests you, you serve her cause badly, believe me, in separating it from that of the other victims of tyranny. You maintain her rights with a bad grace, when you deny the rights of a vast portion of humanity.

The joy of Ireland, at your deliverance, will be saddened to find you in open contradiction with her most illustrious patriot.

I can hear from the tomb the angry voice of O'Connell, repeating his fine expressions of 1837: 'We are all the children of the same Creator, heirs of the same promise, redeemed by the blood of the same Saviour, no matter to what caste, or color, or faith we may belong.'

When your profession of faith crosses the Atlantic, the disappointment of your friends will be sad, as was that of the Democrats of the different nations here assembled in New York. In the stead of a journal which was, as we hoped, to have been the organ of another Irish spirit devoted to despotism, you have given us, as it were, a second edition of it.

Why does the *Citizen* compete with the *Freeman's Journal*? Is it because two papers are needed, one to uphold the cruelty of the odious *Slave*, and the other to approve the cruelty of American planters; this one to rivet the chains of the blacks, the other to rivet the chains of the whites? The *Freeman's Journal* was, I think, competent to the double task.

Should the sale of the *Citizen* enable you to purchase a well-stocked plantation in Alabama, we shall regret, for your own sake, to see you, an ex-martyr of liberty, living upon slavery. We shall regret, too, the fate of your unfortunate *Holots*, destined in advance to the whip.

I am sorry, sir, not to be able to subscribe this noble and most self-sacrificing of men, in the absence of his chiefs, the obscure soldiers of the Universal Republic must do their duty.

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### JOHN MITCHELL'S VIEWS ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

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It has been generally assumed in this country, that John Mitchell, the 'Irish patriot,' was one of the noblest and most self-sacrificing of men; that he drew down upon him the vengeance of the British Government. True, some have doubted this, and pointed to his Young Ireland feud with O'Connell, to show that neither his wisdom nor his nobility of mind was of the highest order; yet he had suffered, and the general opinion was in his favor. Since his arrival in this country, his utterances have been chiefly distinguished for grandiloquent invective and bravado against England. This has not very distinctly indicated the purpose and strength of a superior mind, earnestly devoted to great principles. But it was believed that he would presently grow calm and clear. Perhaps he will; but the immensity of his reverence for freedom is announced by himself, in the following paragraph from the second number of his paper, the *Citizen*:

If he speaks thus, because he supposes slavery controls the policy and public opinion of this country, he has a base mind, like those Irishmen who have sold the cause of Ireland to the English government for titles and riches, as soon as they had made themselves of sufficient importance to be bought. We have not believed him to be a man of this character; but, we have not believed him capable of holding and avowing such principles as are put forth in that extract from his papers. We are bound to suppose he means precisely what he says in this paragraph, and, therefore, we are constrained to believe that all his talk about 'Freedom for Ireland' has meant nothing more than freedom for himself and a few others, to appropriate to themselves that mastery of the soil and mastery of Ireland, which is now monopolized by others. And he would make this mastery still more stringent than it is in English hands, for he maintains that it is not even a 'peccadillo' to hold slaves, to buy slaves, to sell slaves, and to flag them into submission and service. He wishes to engage in such business himself; and since he has no hope of securing the mastery of serfs in Ireland, he would like to own a plantation well stocked with healthy negroes in Alabama. We have a right to infer all this from his declaration of principles and desires above quoted. Out upon such hypocrites, and their highfalutin about freedom!

The oppressed and outraged people of Ireland might well despair, if their cause had no better friends and no sincerer advocates of freedom than this man. How different is he from Daniel O'Connell! And in how many respects different! Daniel O'Connell did not enter the lists against the oppressors of his country merely to train himself for sale to the English government. He did not advocate freedom, with longings to hold slaves either by virtue of a lordship in Ireland or a plantation in Alabama. There may be other Irishmen, who, like John Mitchell, long to become aristocratic slaveholders, some, and who would take a plantation in Alabama, if they could not do better. But there are Irish advocates of freedom, who have the spirit of Daniel O'Connell, and who, in talking of freedom, aim at something higher than grandiloquent display. If it were not so, Irish patriotism would be a

and, to accuse Christ of being a partizan of slavery, is essentially to repudiate it.

Since you found it necessary to cover your opinion with the *egis* of these great names, it must be confessed that your choice, a matter of chance, no doubt, was unfortunate. It could not have been more so, if you had boldly substituted Kosuth, Mazzini, and Victor Hugo. But the living can protest better than the dead.

Kosuth, in spite of his prudent silence in the United States, might have defied you to produce a single word of his, favorable to your strange doctrine. The spirit of his speeches has always been that of the immortal act of his dictatorship, the abolition of serfdom in Hungary.

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Kosuth, in spite of his prudent silence in the United States, might have defied you to produce a single word of his, favorable to your strange doctrine. The spirit of his speeches has always been that of the immortal act of his dictatorship, the abolition of serfdom in Hungary.

Mazzini, the embodiment of devotion, has given proofs of his sympathy with every form of suffering, of his hatred for every form of tyranny. In an article which was published in Boston, in 1846, he attacked, in burning words, the slavery of the United States.

Victor Hugo, besides an admirable letter, in which he asserts his firm hope of seeing, on some future day, free America purified from the most shameful of stains, might show you that passage in his *Châtiments*, where he says:—

"L'Europe en rougisait dit: Quoi! j'avais des rois! Et l'Amérique dit: Quoi! j'avais des esclaves!"

Such men as these, sir, are the true forerunners of the Universal Republic—they recognize no others. Whoever approves of the oppression of any race, under any form, is the enemy of the Universal Republic.

If you care nothing about the Universal Republic, if Ireland alone interests you, you serve her cause badly, believe me, in separating it from that of the other victims of tyranny. You maintain her rights with a bad grace, when you deny the rights of a vast portion of humanity.

The joy of Ireland, at your deliverance, will be saddened to find you in open contradiction with her most illustrious patriot.

I can hear from the tomb the angry voice of O'Connell, repeating his fine expressions of 1837: 'We are all the children of the same Creator, heirs of the same promise, redeemed by the blood of the same Saviour, no matter to what caste, or color, or faith we may belong.'

When your profession of faith crosses the Atlantic, the disappointment of your friends will be sad, as was that of the Democrats of the different nations here assembled in New York. In the stead of a journal which was, as we hoped, to have been the organ of another Irish spirit devoted to despotism, you have given us, as it were, a second edition of it.

Why does the *Citizen* compete with the *Freeman's Journal*? Is it because two papers are needed, one to uphold the cruelty of the odious *Slave*, and the other to approve the cruelty of American planters; this one to rivet the chains of the blacks, the other to rivet the chains of the whites? The *Freeman's Journal* was, I think, competent to the double task.

Should the sale of the *Citizen* enable you to purchase a well-stocked plantation in Alabama, we shall regret, for your own sake, to see you, an ex-martyr of liberty, living upon slavery. We shall regret, too, the fate of your unfortunate *Holots*, destined in advance to the whip.

I am sorry, sir, not to be able to subscribe this noble and most self-sacrificing of men, in the absence of his chiefs, the obscure soldiers of the Universal Republic must do their duty.

ALEXANDRE HOLINSKI.

### JOHN MITCHELL'S VIEWS ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The press is every where strongly rebuking the Irish adventurer for the abominable sentiments he has proclaimed on the subject of slavery. Below, we give a few specimens:—

It has been generally assumed in this country, that John Mitchell, the 'Irish patriot,' was one of the noblest and most self-sacrificing of men; that he drew down upon him the vengeance of the British Government. True, some have doubted this, and pointed to his Young Ireland feud with O'Connell, to show that neither his wisdom nor his nobility of mind was of the highest order; yet he had suffered, and the general opinion was in his favor. Since his arrival in this country, his utterances have been chiefly distinguished for grandiloquent invective and bravado against England. This has not very distinctly indicated the purpose and strength of a superior mind, earnestly devoted to great principles. But it was believed that he would presently grow calm and clear. Perhaps he will; but the immensity of his reverence for freedom is announced by himself, in the following paragraph from the second number of his paper, the *Citizen*:

If he speaks thus, because he supposes slavery controls the policy and public opinion of this country, he has a base mind, like those Irishmen who have sold the cause of Ireland to the English government for titles and riches, as soon as they had made themselves of sufficient importance to be bought. We have not believed him to be a man of this character; but, we have not believed him capable of holding and avowing such principles as are put forth in that extract from his papers. We are bound to suppose he means precisely what he says in this paragraph, and, therefore, we are constrained to believe that all his talk about 'Freedom for Ireland' has meant nothing more than freedom for himself and a few others, to appropriate to themselves that mastery of the soil and mastery of Ireland, which is now monopolized by others. And he would make this mastery still more stringent than it is in English hands, for he maintains that it is not even a 'peccadillo' to hold slaves, to buy slaves, to sell slaves, and to flag them into submission and service. He wishes to engage in such business himself; and since he has no hope of securing the mastery of serfs in Ireland, he would like to own a plantation well stocked with healthy negroes in Alabama. We have a right to infer all this from his declaration of principles and desires above quoted. Out upon such hypocrites, and their highfalutin about freedom!

The oppressed and outraged people of Ireland might well despair, if their cause had no better friends and no sincerer advocates of freedom than this man. How different is he from Daniel O'Connell! And in how many respects different! Daniel O'Connell did not enter the lists against the oppressors of his country merely to train himself for sale to the English government. He did not advocate freedom, with longings to hold slaves either by virtue of a lordship in Ireland or a plantation in Alabama. There may be other Irishmen, who, like John Mitchell, long to become aristocratic slaveholders, some, and who would take a plantation in Alabama, if they could not do better. But there are Irish advocates of freedom, who have the spirit of Daniel O'Connell, and who, in talking of freedom, aim at something higher than grandiloquent display. If it were not so, Irish patriotism would be a

## No Union with Slaveholders!



**JOHN MITCHEL'S APOSTASY TO FREEDOM.**—We do not comment upon the atrocious sentiments written by John Mitchell in regard to human liberty, last week, for the reason that we hoped the next number of the *Citizen* would make an explanation, which would, to some extent, atone for his inexcusable repudiation of the self-evident truths of the Declaration of American Independence. But from the tone of his allusion to the thirty letters he acknowledges to have received upon the subject, in the number of his paper of the present week, we must conclude that the fewer 'citizens' of his class we have in the country, the better it will be for the highest interests of the nation. The worst we can wish him would be, that he might become the victim of his own political views, and personally experience the unutterable woes he advocates for his fellow-man.—*Boston Transcript*.

It is a pity that John Randolph is not alive to spit upon the ignorant and thoughtless demagogue who could utter such a sentiment as is contained in his *Citizen*. The *Albany Register*, a Whig anti-Seward paper, well observes:—

"This is a bad beginning for a man who claims to have suffered largely in the cause of human freedom. It is a bad exhibition of taste. This flippant and irrelevant attack upon the noblest of the human race, the free talk about 'buying and selling, and flogging slaves,' argues against the editor's notions of human rights in the abstract, or as a matter of principle. We are as far as most men from being abolitionists. We are for giving the Constitution full scope, and carrying out, frankly and perfectly, all its provisions. They fulfill its guarantees to the letter; but when we see the 'Patriot Mitchell,' as a matter of choice, advocating the buying, and selling, and the flogging of slaves, and hear him regret that he has not the ability to engage in the traffic, we cannot but think the title conferred upon him is an utter misnomer, and that it would be more fitting to call him 'Mitchel, the demagogue,' or the tyrant."—*Boston Courier*.

There is one thing about most Irishmen, which is strangely inconsistent. These men are held, by their own statement, in a cruel bondage, little better than Southern slavery, by the British. They fly to this country by the million to escape that oppression, and to breathe the free air of Republican America. Yet, immediately upon their arrival here, they join the most pro-slavery party they can find, and use all their influence, by vote and voice, to keep the yoke of bondage on three millions of Americans of Anglo-African descent!

Even John Mitchell is guilty of this ingratitude and treachery to Freedom. O'Connell's anti-slavery admonitions to his countrymen have had little effect on their hearts.

How can John Mitchell expect the sympathy or aid of Americans, if he comes among them with such brutal opinions? He cries aloud for freedom for Irishmen in one breath, and in the next, wishes he 'had a plantation in Alabama well stocked with men and women of American birth, to work for his ease, to be flogged and sold like the cattle of the field, for his profit. Is such a man fit to preach Liberty to Republicans?—*Cleveland Dem.*

When we hear such language as this from an American and a Southerner, we attribute to the compound cause of early association, education, and pecuniary interest—to blinded reason and passions stirred into great excitement by the persistent preaching of that gospel of abolition,—Under the heavy burdens, and let the captives go free. When we hear it from a Northern man, unentangled in the net of the peculiar institution, we rightly denounce him as a 'Northern dogface.' When from a foreigner, we say that either he is ignorant of what slavery is, having never witnessed its operations or reflected on its nature, or that he is a man without moral principle or political sagacity, and worthy to have been brought up under the shadow of a monarchial throne, and when language like this is deliberately uttered by a leader of rebellion against unjust and arbitrary rule in a foreign land—one who has personally suffered in what he calls, and what the world were willing to think the cause of liberty; who aspires to the name, and is awarded the honor of patriot, and comes to our shores to claim an asylum in the name of liberty, professing to have consecrated his life to the cause of his oppressed countrymen, can we find language adequate to express the contempt he deserves?—*East Boston Ledger*.

#### TROUBLE AMONG THE TYRANTS.

The Portsmouth (Va.) *Transcript*, of the 14th inst., empties its pent up mortification and rage upon the heads of the people of Massachusetts, and of abolitionists generally, in the following style. The occasion of this explosion is the failure of certain Virginia negro hunters, in an expedition to Massachusetts, in pursuit of a company of slaves who recently migrated from Norfolk to a more northern latitude. Thus we might fancy the sycophants and tools of Nicholas or Francis Joseph to talk of the reception of Kosciuszko, and similar fugitives, by the American people.

**INSULT AND OUTRAGE UPON THE RIGHTS OF THE SOUTH.** It will be recollected that some time since, several negroes were seized from this town and vicinity, who were supposed to have been enticed away, and had escaped on board a vessel sailing from this port for some port of New England. Subsequent events proved the suspicion were well-grounded. The owners, having received information that their servants were in Massachusetts, determined to make an effort to recover their property by a journey to the land of 'pure morals.' The following particulars of their trip, reception, and result of their lawful attempts to secure their own, we copy from the *Globe* of yesterday:

Our townsman and friend, Major Hodges, with several others, went to Boston in pursuit of their property, when the following was the reception and success they met with; and we ask the attention of every Southerner seriously to it.

Arriving at Boston, they went first and engaged a lawyer, S. J. Thomas, as counsel during their stay.

The U. S. Marshal, Freeman, was seen, who appeared anxious to give them all the assistance his official prerogatives justified. To keep down all suspicion of what was on hand—the negroes being understood to be in New Bedford—the Marshal sent a letter by a constable to the deputy, Hathaway, at New Bedford, informing him of the facts in the case, and requesting him to keep a look out, to make his plans for securing the fugitives, and to write him by every mail of the progress made in the prosecution of his duty. This letter was sent on Thursday, and by the next Monday nothing had been received from the Deputy Marshal.

Then Mr. Hodges and two or three of his friends went up to that den of negro thieves and fugitive protectors, New Bedford. Here they learned from the Deputy Marshal that he had recognized the negroes, and told the street he found them upon, but told them they were gone. He would give them no further satisfaction, except to let them know where the black friends of the fugitives were to be found. Mr. H. and his friends were every precaution of secrecy and quietude possible to keep down the object of their mission. They disguised themselves, went in different directions, and used every endeavor, in a silent manner as could be, to discover the whereabouts of the fugitives; but all in vain, as generally was the matter bruited, and so well posted was every citizen upon the subject.

It had been made a topic from the pulpits, on the day before, Sunday, and the bells of the town were tolled the whole time they were there, the tolling being a species of telegraph they use in that town of iniquity and lawlessness, to let the inhabitants know that masters or officers are in search of their slave property.

The pulpit had blazoned the affair on Sunday; on Monday the bells rang out the well understood signal; but this was not enough, and the towns and parts of the press were added to the injury and insult our Southern fellow-citizens had to endure. The New Bedford *Standard*, the organ of the Black Guards, black fugitives, and rowdies and negro stealers of that rank stew of fanatics and outlaws, came out with the following notice:

**POSITIVE SLAVES.** We are informed that a person visited this city from Boston, on Saturday, in pursuit of two fugitive slaves. After looking about and examining the premises, he returned to Boston in the evening train. This morning he came here again with two or three persons as assistants, but the fugitives had gone. Man-hunting and woman-stealing is considered rather mean

business in New Bedford, and we imagine that all sound-bodies who should attempt it here, would meet with a proper reception from the persons pursued.

Thus are citizens of a sovereign State treated when they go and breathe the pure atmosphere of New England morals in search of their property. This is one of the many outrages our citizens have to submit to from lawless abolitionists, that make up that sweet, glorious New England, which innocent captives on Virginia soil, thank God they were removed so, from Virginia.

If a man is caught harboring a negro in Virginia, with the stain of secreting stolen property upon his fame and the guilt in his heart, he is punished with the utmost severity of the law; and negro stealing by Southerners is visited in all the slave States with penalties more or less severe. But let the Massachusetts Abolitionists, who give to New England its pure atmosphere, steal the negroes of the South, and there it is, appears, no redress. The Constitution, the laws, the compromises, may all go to the devil for them.

There are some 1,800 negroes in New Bedford, the greater portion of them runaway slaves, whom the white population of about 19,000 villains protect and encourage. Ought not Virginia to see to the rights of her citizens? For the last twelve months, from forty to fifty thousand dollars' worth of this kind of property has left this port; and when any portion of it is gone, after every obstacle is thrown in the way, the owners in pursuit are stigmatized as 'sounders and man-hunters and woman-stealers.' The Deputy Marshal forfeited his trust by making the matter public, and not giving any aid to the owners; and we do not think that the Marshal in Boston did his duty. He ought to have gone to New Bedford immediately himself. We have not room for further comment at this time upon this shameful outrage. The simple narration of the above is a sufficient comment upon the enormity of the national treason and individual villainy it refers to.

The extract below, from a recent letter to the *Tribune* from New Bedford, may follow the above appropriately:

The colored population of New Bedford is very large, numbering not less than 1,000. Very many of them are fugitives from 'Southern service.'—Riding out a few days since, I passed an erect, intelligent looking negro, trimming the street lamps. I asked Canada, the negro who was driving, who he was. 'Oh!' he replied, 'he has been here only a year from Virginia.' He is a brother in the same church I am. I inquired how he escaped. Canada continued, 'Well, he was in a bar several days, and once at sea, he came pretty fast. His wife had given him up, though she had waited years. Liberty is sweet, and the first time he came into church, I thought he would set it on fire. I tell you he loved there.' The allusion to a 'bar' and 'once at sea' was significant. A fugitive could not be taken here, it is believed.

## THE LIBERATOR.

### No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 3, 1854.

#### ANNUAL MEETING

#### OF THE

#### MASS. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The twenty-second Annual Meeting of the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society* was held in Boston, at the Melodeon, on Wednesday, January 25, and by adjournment on the 26th and 27th.

The Society was called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, the President, at 10 o'clock, A. M. of Wednesday.

The following persons were nominated and chosen a Committee to report the usual Committees, together with Assistant Secretaries of the meeting:

Daniel S. Whitney of Southboro', Dr. J. H. York of Boston, E. H. Stockman of Cummington, Alvan Hove of Barnstable, John Jones of Roxbury.

This Committee unanimously reported as follows:

For Business Committee—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, EDMUND QUINCY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, ANNE W. WESTON, ANDREW T. FOSB, JOSEPH BARKER, E. A. STOCKMAN, C. L. RENOLD, C. C. BURLINGTON, HENRY C. WRIGHT, DORAC TATE.

For Finance Committee—LEWIS FORD of Abington, JAMES N. BURNES of Lynn, EBRIDGE SPRAGUE of Abington, REUBEN H. OBER of Boston.

For Assistant Secretaries—SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Leicester, ELIZA J. KENNY, of Salem.

Their report was accepted, and the persons named duly elected.

The Treasurer of the Society being detained from the meeting on account of ill-health, his Annual Report of the Finances was read by Mr. May, one of the Secretaries;—also the certificate of the Auditor, Mr. Edmund Jackson, to the correctness of the Treasurer's accounts. Receipts for 1853, including balance from preceding year, \$7,803 34. Expenditures \$6,948 90. Balance in Treasury, Jan. 1, 1854, \$754 44; of which \$350 was due, and has since been paid, to the American A. S. Society. (The Report will be published next week.)

Voted, unanimously, that the Treasurer's report be accepted, and published with the minutes.

Opportunity for vocal or silent prayer was given by the President.

Portions of an Annual Statement of the operations of the Society were then read by Mr. May, the General Agent of the Society. The Statement included an historical view of the working of the Fugitive Slave Law, and of the Victims and Sufferers from that cruel enactment.

On motion of H. C. Wright, seconded by Joseph Barker, S. May, Jr., W. L. Garrison, W. Phillips, E. Quincy, and Edmund Jackson were made a Committee upon the publication of the facts and statements collected by Mr. May, respecting the Fugitive Law.

HENRY C. WRIGHT offered the following resolutions, and spoke briefly in defence of them:—

Resolved, That slavery is a denial of the self-evident facts of human existence, and therefore is a wrong which no being, book, creed, constitution, law, nor circumstance, can make right.

Resolved, That we reject the authority of all books, creeds, constitutions, laws, and commands, by whomsoever written or adopted, which assert the rightfulness or expediency of slavery.

Resolved, That we deny the existence, and repudiate the worship of any being as God, that justifies the existence and perpetuity of slavery.

JOSEPH BARKER, of Ohio, spoke eloquently of the great Sin of Slavery, and the extraordinary inconsistency of the American people in sustaining it.

Mr. GARRISON read, from a Virginia paper, a ludicrously spiteful article, levelled at Massachusetts in general, and at the city of New Bedford in particular, on account of the fugitive negroes said to be residing there, and also on account of the signal failure which certain slave-hunters from Virginia had recently experienced, in an attempt to find and seize several fugitive slaves from that State, who were understood to be in New Bedford, but who were nowhere to be found, by the U. S. Marshal and his men, who went thither from Boston on that honorable (!) errand.

Adjourned to quarter before 3, P. M.

**AFTERNOON.** The President in the Chair.

No resolution or business being as yet reported by the Committee, HENRY C. WRIGHT again read the resolutions offered by him in the morning.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., objected to the phraseology of Mr. Wright's resolutions, and expressed the hope that they might be modified, so as to avoid the introduction here of topics simply theological, and to avoid also unnecessary misunderstanding and misrepresentation of our objects, as an anti-slavery Society.

CHARLES C. BURLINGTON also thought that Mr. Wright's resolutions were theological in their character, and liable to be misunderstood. He moved their reference to the Business Committee, with instructions to report them in a form affirming that the great Creator and

Ruler of the Universe, whom we know as God, does in his very nature, and in all his manifestations he has made of himself to men, forever abhor and condemn slavery, and all the outrages and cruelties it inflicts upon men. The motion was seconded by Mr. May, and by others, simultaneously, and the resolutions were referred accordingly, without dissent.

C. C. BURLINGTON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That all the signs of the time portend a strong effort, on the part of the Slave Power, to monopolize the functions and control the policy of the Government still more entirely than in times past—in travelling under foot the Missouri Compromise as the Nebraska Territory,—in the acquisition of fresh slave territory in the Mesilla valley,—in obtaining the sanction of the Supreme Court for the presence of slaveholders with their slaves in the free States,—and in reopening the slave trade by granting compensation to the pirates in the *Amistad* case.

JOSEPH BARKER briefly expressed his idea of the necessity of clear, intelligent, and correct views of the true relation of the Bible to the prevailing wrongs and crimes of the age. He did not feel sure that it was right to discuss these topics here; but, either here or elsewhere, men must discuss it; and abolitionists especially are bound to do it.

Mr. Barker then spoke at length, and with much effect, of the various ideas entertained in different ages with regard to slavery,—of the policy and plans of American slaveholders and their allies at the present time,—and of the hopeful prospects of the cause of Liberty.

C. C. BURLINGTON, in an eloquent speech, sustained the resolution he had reported.

It was announced that, at the evening sessions, the small admission-fee of five cents would be taken at the door. Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

**EVENING.** The President in the Chair.

The following series of resolutions, from the Business Committee, were reported, and taken up for discussion:—

Whereas, In the second number of his paper, *The Citizen*, in an article sneering at JAMES HAGGTON, one of the most active and meritorious philanthropists of Ireland, JOHN MITCHEL, the Irish fugitive from British power, the mock rebel and self-elected champion of Irish liberty, unblushingly declares:—We deny that it is a crime, or a wrong, or even a peccadillo, to hold slaves, to buy slaves, to sell slaves, to keep slaves to their work, by flogging or other cruel coercion—adding, 'We, for our part, wish we had a good plantation well stocked with healthy negroes, in Alabama'—therefore,

Resolved, That John Mitchell has revealed himself to be a bragging patriot, and a thoroughly unprincipled man, utterly recreant to all his professions of liberty, a 'patriotic' wolf in sheep's clothing, a slave-driver in spirit, and deserving the execrations of the friends of impartial liberty throughout the world.

Resolved, That it is fortunate for Ireland, that this hollow patriot did not succeed in his supremely selfish purposes, while assuming to seek her deliverance from British misrule, and equally fortunate that he was banished as a felon, to Van Dieman's land, on account of his murderous machinations; while his presence here is to be regarded as a curse to the soil on which he treads, and poison to the atmosphere which he inhales.

Resolved, That the base apostasy of John Mitchell makes the memory of the great and lamented O'CONNELL all the more dear to us, for sparing the blood-stained money which was sent from this country to the Repeal Association, to silence his voice on the subject of American Slavery, and nobly exclaiming:—I don't care for the consequences! I will not restrain my honest indignation of feeling. I pronounce every man a faithless mercenary, who does not take a part for the abolition of slavery. Come what may, I will never countenance slavery at home or abroad. Though it should be a blow against Ireland, it is a blow in favor of human liberty, and I will strike that blow. Let them blame me in America—let me be execrated by them—still, Slavery, I denounce you wherever you are! Come freedom, come oppression to Ireland,—let Ireland be as she may,—I will have my conscience clear before my God. I am bound not to look to consequences, but to justice and humanity—though the liberty of Ireland, the repeal of the Union itself, are at stake the tyrant; wherever oppression shows itself, I am the foe of the oppressor; wherever slavery rears its head, I am the enemy of the system, or the institution, call it by what name you will. I am the friend of liberty in every clime, class, and color—my sympathy with distress is not confined within the narrow bound of my own green island. No! It extends itself to every corner of the earth. My heart walks abroad, and wherever the miserable is to be succored, and the slave is to be set free, there my spirit is at home, and I delight to dwell in its abode.

The floor was first taken by HENRY KEMP of Boston, a native of Ireland. He reviewed the conduct of John Mitchell and his 'Young Ireland' friends, during the time of the Repeal contest in Ireland, and said, that for himself he had never been able to explain John Mitchell's conduct at that time, in any other way than by supposing him a tool and spy of the British Government. It is no new thing, said Mr. K., to put down a popular movement in Ireland by employing so-called patriots as spies. And, further, said Mr. K., when found that Mitchell, though banished by the English government to Australia, was treated on the passage thither with the greatest attention by the government officials, attended by servants, dining with the captain, and in all respects treated in a manner most unusual for a felon—and when I found him living in Van Dieman's land a life of leisure, riding about the country, and after a time so easily breaking away from his confinement, and escaping to this country, I was led more than ever to suspect that the English government winked at his movement, and that he was thus paid for services rendered. Mr. Kemp denounced John Mitchell as a traitor, in most indignant terms; he said he had long believed, and now he was sure, that there is not a more unprincipled man living than John Mitchell.

I have spoken thus here, said Mr. Kemp, because, though poverty compelled me to leave Ireland, I love her still; and because I want to do something to save her from the disgrace which such men as Mitchell, and McGee, and others of that school, have brought upon her. I am an Irish abolitionist. I do not hold to freedom for myself and my countrymen, and go for the slavery of the colored man, or any man. And I do not believe, either, that there is anything in the nature of Irishmen to make them love slavery, and hate liberty. They are mis-taught; they are deceived and prejudiced, by selfish and designing men, against the abolitionists and their cause, and are kept away carefully from the anti-slavery meetings; and they are ignorant of the nature and character of the cause. Mr. K. (himself a Catholic), also spoke of their religion, as being employed as an instrument of tyranny over their minds and conduct. (Mr. K. took his seat, amidst much applause.)

JOSEPH BARKER, of Ohio, (a native of England, and only recently from that country,) began with quoting John Mitchell's infamous sentiments respecting Slavery, as lately put forth by him in his new paper. He then passed to Mitchell's insulting attack upon James Haughton, of Dublin, a well-known merchant and active philanthropist of that city,—a man whom John Mitchell, even in his scurrilous article, is obliged to acknowledge to be a worthy man. Mr. Haughton was a friend to Mitchell and to Meagher in Ireland, and it was very natural that he should write to them, on their arrival in this country, and express his hope that they would speak out boldly against oppression and slavery here, as they had done in Ireland against British oppression. John Mitchell's attack upon Mr. Haughton is, therefore, mean and ungrateful, as well as wholly

unwarranted by facts. For Mr. Haughton is truly worthy of respect, as a generous friend to every benevolent cause, and the charges and insinuations of Mitchell against him are calumnious and vile to the last degree. Once, said Mr. Barker, I was a friend to John Mitchell, and, through my paper, *The People*, I defended him, and advocated the movement against the English government in which he was engaged. I am deeply sorry now, that I ever identified myself with him; for he has shown himself a dishonest and false man. I did not then distrust his heart, nor doubt his sincerity and absolute devotion to Ireland; though I did wonder at many of his acts, which appeared to me extremely foolish. But now, I see and understand him differently; and I believe that he was a knave and a traitor in Ireland then, as I know he is a scoundrel and traitor in America now. He has disgraced his country, and so far as he can, he has disgraced his friends. But some of his former friends will not be disgraced by him, but will speak out against every form of Slavery, all the more loudly for his treachery. Mr. Barker closed with reading an article which he had written, and which was published in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, on first seeing Mitchell's infamous avowal of his desire to be a slaveholder. The article has appeared in the anti-slavery journals generally. Though exceedingly severe and condemnatory of Mr. Mitchell, few, if any, will say it is a whit more so than the case justifies. (Mr. Barker's remarks were warmly applauded.)

WILLIAM S. BROWN, formerly of Scotland, said he arose to perform, in the words of another, 'a disagreeable duty.' I did not, he said, come to this meeting with any design to speak. But as you have been addressed, on this painful subject, first by an Irishman, and next by an Englishman, I have thought a few words from a Scotchman would not be ill-timed or inappropriate. I too, sir, when at home, was a friend to John Mitchell, and in a little paper which I published at Glasgow, I defended him, and I justified his position, with the exception of his zealous desire for a violent and bloody struggle, and his wish to use vitriol and other like weapons against the English soldiery. For so defending him, I suffered prosecution and imprisonment. Still, however, I adhered to him, and I kept his portrait hanging in my humble dwelling, side by side with that of my Lord and Saviour. But when I read, the other day, his vile and hateful sentiments on American Slavery, I tore down his picture from my walls, (bursts of applause,) and I cast it from me, as I have cast forever his image from my heart. (Prolonged cheering.)

JOHN C. CLERK, also a native of Scotland, expressed his indignant feelings against the traitor Mitchell. He adduced several facts to show the falsehood of his statements about Mr. Haughton, and the ingratitude of his heart. Mr. Clerk mentioned instances in which colored men had stood nobly and firmly, with and by John Mitchell, in his struggle against England, and had suffered banishment for it. Now, John Mitchell wants a plantation in Alabama, well stocked with the brothers of these his old friends and faithful companions! The villain! (Applause.)

HENRY KEMP said a few words to defend himself against a charge of inconsistency, in having once contributed money to aid the Young Ireland movement.

JOSEPH BARKER said that, when he spoke in praise of this country's institutions, he always excepted the treatment of the colored people, and the infernal system of Slavery.

CHARLES LENOX BROWN, of Salem, came forward. He said it was not needful to add anything to the remarks which had been so powerfully and eloquently addressed to-night to John Mitchell. The most scorching rebuke of him came, indeed, from his own land,—in every effort for freedom of her true sons, in the rich, free gifts of her daughters, to help the Anti-Slavery cause here. Mr. B. testified to the falsehood of Mitchell's charges against Mr. Haughton. And he branded the man as a rascal, who could come to this country, fresh from his denunciation of British tyranny, and wish to enslave the native-born negroes on our soil. (Great applause.)

WENDELL PHILLIPS said he had been asked to say something about John Mitchell. But he had looked carefully about him, and he couldn't see that anything was left of him. He must say that John Mitchell gave, in his own case, the strongest proof that ever had come to his knowledge, of British tyranny; for it had utterly crushed the life out of one whom it had recognized as worthy of its persecution, and had sent him to us, the poorest and meanest slave he had ever heard of. (Great applause.)

Mr. Phillips proceeded to glance at the present fearful position of this nation; our vast unsettled territory proposed to be denied to SLAVERY; the Missouri Compromise Line designed to be swept away; the vast Mesilla valley bought, to make new slave states; and Congress proposing to pay, for the *Amistad* negroes, a large sum of money to their lawless and piratical kidnappers. In these circumstances, where are the popular leaders? Who is asserting and defending the cause of liberty? Mr. Douglas has made his offer for the Presidency. Mr. Everett waits a while before he makes his. The Abolitionists must re-commence their labors, and do again their first works,—proclaim the old first principle of their movement, and kindle anew the fires of freedom in the hearts of the people. (Mr. P.'s remarks were heard with great attention, and were warmly applauded.) Adjourned.

#### THURSDAY.

Met again at the Melodeon, at 10 A. M. The President in the Chair.

The resolutions before the meeting were read by the Secretary.

J. C. CLERK hoped the question on the Mitchell resolutions would not be taken now, as he desired the fullest opportunity to be given to the friends of Mr. Mitchell to speak in his defence.

The President replied that the question had not been called for, and would not probably be taken at present.

Mr. CLERK made some further remarks on the question.

REV. E. A. STOCKMAN, of Cummington, Hampshire County, spoke eloquently on the general subject of Slavery. He developed with great clearness and power the pro-slavery influences which are now working upon the public mind and conscience, with a view to stifle feeling and suppress utterance. He particularly exposed the cowardly and faithless course, too generally pursued by the so-called churches and ministers of the country.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., offered the following resolutions, and sustained them in a few remarks:—

Resolved, That the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, present at this meeting, be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar each, or such other sum as may be in their power, to defray the expenses of the Annual Meeting.

And further, Resolved, That all the members of the Society, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, whether present or absent, be earnestly invoked to send to the Treasurer, donations of money, or pledges to be redeemed during the year, that the Society may be enabled to continue its warfare upon all the defences of Slavery, and break up the apathy and indifference which so fearfully brood over the public mind.

WENDELL PHILLIPS spoke eloquently for a renewed and fresh consecration of time and talents to the cause. The Finance Committee, meanwhile, proceeded to the discharge of their duties, which they afterwards, from time to time, continued during the sessions of the meeting.

DANIEL S. WHITNEY, from the Committee on Nominations, reported the following as a Committee on the Officers of the Society, for the year ensuing:—

Edmund Quincy of Dedham, William Whiting of Concord, Richard Clay of Dorchester, William Ashby of Newburyport, John Clement of Townsend, Paulina Gerry of Stoneham, Mehmetabel Haskell of Gloucester, Joseph Merrill of Danvers, and Jacob Leonard of East Bridgewater.

The Report was unanimously accepted, and the persons named elected said committee.

Mr. GARRISON exhibited to the meeting a large handbill, printed in New Orleans, Louisiana, advertising for sale, '184 Valuable Plantation Slaves,' names, ages, &c., &c., given. They are of all ages, from near 60, down to 14 years. The sale is yet to take place, viz. on the 16th of February, by the auctioneers J. A. Beard & May. Mr. Garrison made some comments on the heart-sickening fact, in this country, of a public sale of human beings—God's immortal children.

Adjourned.

**AFTERNOON.** The President in the Chair.

CHARLES C. BURLINGTON, from the Business Committee, reported the three following resolutions, in place of those which, on Wednesday afternoon, had been referred to the Committee to appear in a new draft:—

Resolved, That American Slavery is a practical denial of self-evident truths concerning the nature and rights of man, and the essence and character of God; and is, therefore, essentially, and under all possible circumstances, wrong.

Resolved, That every book, creed, or law, which either emanates from God, or is in harmony with His will, is necessarily opposed to the doctrine that chattel slavery is right or expedient; and, consequently, nothing which favors that doctrine can be of divine origin, or worthy of human reverence, or allegiance.

Resolved, therefore, That to affirm that the Bible sanctions slavery, is practically to deny its divine authority; and is, moreover, to represent it as grossly inconsistent with its own fundamental principles of justice, and love to our neighbor as ourselves; and to affirm that the Constitution and laws of the land sanction slavery, is to affirm that they contravene the supreme law binding on all men and nations, and are, therefore, utterly null and void.

HENRY C. WRIGHT presented the two following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the government of the United States, so far as it was designed by its founders to protect, propagate and perpetuate Liberty, has, by consecrating its energies to the protection, propagation and perpetuation of Slavery, utterly failed to accomplish the object for which it was formed, and it is the right and duty of the people to change or abolish that government, and to establish one that shall protect all under its jurisdiction, in their inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Resolved, That should the government succeed in its present plan to abolish the Missouri Compromise, and to throw open all the vast public domain to slavery and the slave-trade, we consider that the time has fully come for the people practically to assert their right of Revolution, and to establish a government that shall secure to all under its jurisdiction their sacred right to freedom, and that shall be, in deed and in truth, an asylum for the oppressed of all lands.

REV. ANDREW T. FOSB, of Manchester, N. H., spoke with much interest and effect, on the Nebraska question, &c. He traced the sad results upon the Indian, as well as upon the Negro races in this country, of the European immigration, and of what is called European civilization and religion.

The resolutions upon pecuniary aid to the Society were called for, read again, and adopted.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON then came forward, and was received with much warmth of feeling. We regret that we are unable to give any adequate report of his remarks. He alluded, in beginning, to the old question in *Jules*.—Have any of the rulers believed on him? which, if answered in the negative, was sufficient to set aside the claims of Jesus. If the question were asked now, the answer would be different. All the rulers, now, make haste to profess a belief in Jesus; and yet, they join hands with slaveholders, enact the Fugitive Slave Law, open new territory to slavery, and do all in their power to 'crush' the Anti-Slavery cause. Recently, there appeared in an orthodox religious journal, at Portland, edited by Rev. Dr. Cummings, an article highly laudatory of President Pierce, because he had family prayers every day, at the White House, and grace was said at his table! Yet, see his course and policy, pledging himself to maintain the Fugitive Slave Law, and the compromises with Slavery, and recommending in his annual message, that the kidnappers of the *Amistad* negroes should receive compensation for the loss of their property, although the decision of the United States Courts was, that those Negroes were kidnapped from Africa, and were lawfully free!

Yet, said Mr. G., as we look over the world, we find the good, the true, the worthy, are on our side. These are not few in numbers, they are mighty in power, and they will yet give us the victory. Those who attended the recent Bazaar, in this city, saw a remarkable sight, in the Address of the 570,000 Women of Great Britain, to the Women of America. There were recorded the names of women in every rank and situation of life, from the most affluent and distinguished, down to the most lowly. Yes, here they all were, united by their common humanity and by the testimony of their common heart against the cruel and unrighteous system of American Slavery, to offer their joint protest against its abominations. It was a great deed; and the Address is a noble and an enduring monument of



power in America. He referred to this power as regards its territorial extent, comparing its former circumscribed limits with its present extended area. The unoccupied territory was to be the battleground upon which would be contested the subject of slavery, in Congress, at this session. Every church has its symbols; Russia has none, but its book is the Czar. American churches worship the unacknowledged god—Mammon. Many of our ministers, with the Bible before them, inaugurate the worship of Mammon. The principle of the Whig party was to put money before man—the principle of the Democratic party was to put the majority before the instinctive right of man.

Allusion was made to the Inaugural Address of President Pierce, in which he declared his purpose to carry out the principles of the Missouri Compromise. The Constitution has several times been violated by the slaveholding power. The Bible Society will not distribute its Bibles among the slave population. The Tract Society looks over its publications, and strikes out everything opposed to slavery. In the North, there is an effort today to get rid of slavery. There are those who are earnestly laboring, but the Free Soil party is not on its feet, but on its back. It has lost its legs, but has slipped and fallen. Yet its heart is sound, and it will yet rise up again and stand. Allusion was made to the delegation of the anti-slavery party in Congress. He paid a just and worthy compliment to Messrs. Sumner and Chase, for their efforts in the Senate, and Messrs. Smith and Gillies in the House. A touching tribute was paid to the memory of Robert Rantoul, Jr. He enumerated several favorable indications in the South, which, at present, promised much good to the cause of freedom. Several names were mentioned, of men who are fighting for the Presidency, among whom were Cass, Douglas, Everett, Lawrence, Foote and Davis; and he said that after we have had Polk, Fillmore and Pierce, there is nobody so low but that they can aspire. Allusion was made to Bellini, the Pope's nuncio, who, he said, came here with his hand on his brother's blood, and two eminent Senators had made an attempt to wash it white as snow. Adj.

EVERETT.—The President in the Chair. Edmund Quincy, from the Committee on that subject, reported the following for Officers of the Society during the ensuing year:

President.—Francis Jackson, Boston.  
Vice Presidents.—Andrew Robeson, New Bedford; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Adin Ballou, Milford; John M. Fish, West Brookfield; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Edgingham L. Capron, Worcester; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Oliver Garrison, Nantucket; Henry I. Bowditch, Boston; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield; Caroline Weston, Weymouth; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fifth-bury; George Mills, Westminster; James N. Buffum, Haverhill; Cyrus Pierce, Newton; John T. Hilton, Brighton; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Charles F. Hovey, Boston; John S. Stafford, Cunningham; James Russell Lowell, Cambridge; Richard Clay, Dorchester; William Whiting, Concord; A. A. Bent, Gardner; Ezekiel Thatcher, Barnstable; David P. Harmon, Haverhill.

Corresponding Secretary.—Samuel May, Jr. Leicester.  
Recording Secretary.—Robert F. Wallcut, Boston.  
Treasurer.—Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.  
Judges.—Edmund Jackson, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.—William Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, Maria Weston Chapman, John Rogers, Cornelius Bramhall, Anne W. Weston, Eliza Lee Folien, John M. Spear, Charles K. Whipple, William L. Bowditch, John T. Sargent.

The report was unanimously accepted; and the persons therein named elected officers for the year ensuing.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH read the first three resolutions before the meeting, and spoke very ably in their support.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS being called for by several voices in the audience, came to the platform, and made a few remarks on the resolutions read by Mr. Burleigh, and some other topics.

EDMUND QUINCY spoke, chiefly to the rescinding of the Missouri Compromise. He traced the policy, and successive triumphs of the Slave Power with great ability; and predicted the complete success, for the time, of all its schemes, unless the Northern people shook off their apathy, acquired some manliness of spirit, and showed a determined resistance to this desperate, yet really in themselves feeble band of slaveholders.

JEROME B. TAYLOR, formerly of McGrawville College, addressed the meeting in a brief but spirited speech.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, introduced the following resolution:

Whereas, our faithful and beloved coadjutor, PARKER PILLSBURY, after many years of arduous and unremitted labors in the anti-slavery cause, as an Agent both of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, to the prostration of his health, so that he has deemed it expedient to take a voyage to Europe for his restoration; therefore,

Resolved, That we warmly commend him to the generous hospitality, fraternal confidence and earnest co-operation of the friends of negro emancipation in particular, and the cause of freedom universally, wherever he may travel abroad; that our best wishes, mingled with the blessings of those who are ready to perish, go with him; and that we trust he will, in due time, be restored to his family and friends, to his co-laborers and the field of conflict with the Slave Power, with his bodily health fully restored, and his heart greatly strengthened, to enter afresh into the work of "undoing the barbed, breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free."

In a very clear and affecting speech, Mr. GARRISON asserted and defended the rights of the enslaved population of the land, and denounced their wicked and cruel oppressors.

A stranger in the audience arose to complain of what Mr. Garrison had said of the churches and ministers of the North. He knew a great many ministers, who were thoroughly anti-slavery, and prepared to work for the overthrow of slavery.

Mr. Garrison replied, who has said that there are no anti-slavery ministers and churches? No one. We know, and rejoice to know, there are such; but we also know, that they are very few. They are the exceptions, who will always take care of themselves, and who will vindicate sufficiently their own position and character. And if the numerous ministers, of whom the gentleman has spoken, are so anti-slavery, and so willing to work in this cause, why do we not see some of them here today?

CHARLES L. REMOND said that, feeling quite unwell, this afternoon, he had gone home to Salem. But when he arrived there, he felt worse, and so he came back again. He rejoiced to have one more opportunity to lift up his voice, in Boston, to protest against the infamous system of slaveholding at the South, and the equally infamous spirit of negro-hate at the North.

He referred particularly to the recently-published statement of Mr. William Appleton, Representative from Boston in Congress, had made a large donation to the Colonization Society, to assist in sending eighty colored persons to Liberia. Mr. Remond denounced the act, as one of negro-proscription and hatred, and as showing Mr. Appleton to be an enemy to the colored people.

Mr. Remond spoke with very great warmth, and with true eloquence, and was loudly applauded.

The hour being late, Mr. GARRISON moved the adoption of the several resolutions which had been reported to the meeting, and repeatedly read. The motion was seconded by many voices, and being put to the meeting, was unanimously adopted.

The Society then adjourned, sine die.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.  
SAMUEL MAY, JR.,  
ELIZA J. KENT, Assistant Secretaries.

## NEW WORK BY WILLIAM W. BROWN.

CLERGY, or, The President's Daughter. A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States. By William Wells Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Author of "Three Years in Europe," with a Sketch of the Author's Life. London: Patridge & Oakey, Paternoster Row. 1853.

A fugitive slave successfully turning author—giving spirited sketches of men and things in the old world, as well as of the hideous system of tyranny from which he has made his escape, so as to excite the interest and exert the admiration of highly cultivated minds—is a surprising event even in this age of wonders. "That a man," says the *London Weekly News and Chronicle*, referring to Mr. Brown's "Three Years in Europe," "who was a slave for the first twenty years of his life, and who has never had a day's schooling, should produce such a book as this, cannot but astonish those who speak disparagingly of the African race." Of the present work, "Clotel," the English journals speak in terms of the warmest commendation. For a copy of it, we are greatly obliged to the author; and, having read it, we wish it might be reprinted in this country, believing it would find many readers. While the Declaration of Independence is preserved, the memory of Thomas Jefferson, its author, will be cherished, for the clear recognition it makes of the natural equality of mankind, and the inalienable right of every human being to freedom and the pursuit of happiness. But it will also be to his eternal disgrace that he lived and died a slaveholder, emancipating none of his slaves at his death, and, it is well understood, leaving some of his own children to be sold to the slave speculators, and thus to drag out a miserable life of servitude. Of the last, "Clotel" was one—beautiful, intelligent, captivating.

"Her appearance on the auction block created a deep sensation amongst the crowd. Here she stood, with a complexion as white as most of those who were waiting with a wish to become her purchasers; her features as finely defined as any of her sex of pure Anglo-Saxon; her form black, with hair done up in the newest manner; her form tall and graceful, and her whole appearance indicating one superior to her position." The auctioneer eloquently expatiated upon her beauty and many good qualities, and the bids rapidly increased as he proceeded, so that she was struck off for fifteen hundred dollars—"her bones, muscles, sinews, blood and nerves were sold for five hundred dollars; her moral character for two hundred; her improved intellect for two hundred; her Christianity for three hundred; and her chastity and virtue for four hundred dollars more. And this, too, in a city thronged with churches, whose tall spires look like so many signals pointing to heaven, and whose ministers preach that slavery is a God-ordained institution!"

"Clotel" is sold into various hands, and experiences the painful vicissitudes to which one in her condition is ever liable, till at length about to be transported to New Orleans, as her prison in Washington was being closed for the night, she suddenly darted past her keeper, and ran for her life towards the famous 'Long Bridge,' which spans the Potomac from the lower part of the city; but, being hemmed in by her pursuers, and seeing escape impossible, she vaulted over the railings of the bridge, and sank forever beneath the waters of the Potomac.

Mr. Brown has skillfully embodied in his affecting tale numerous well-authenticated occurrences, which have transpired at the South within a comparatively short period—all calculated to intensify the moral indignation of the world against American slavery.

## LETTER FROM MR. QUINCY, TOUCHING MR. LAROCY SUNDERLAND.

MR. EDITOR.—Your last number contains a letter from Mr. Laroccy Sunderland, complaining of injustice on my part in an article on Mr. Gould's Book, published in the LIBERATOR when I had temporary charge of it. He says—

"In the LIBERATOR of November 4, 1853, over the signature of 'Q.' I find myself charged with having, thirteen years since, *exploited* from the cause of Freedom, and now, being engaged in 'selling ghosts by the dollar's worth, in Boston.'"

And again,—  
"But, says 'Q.' Laroccy Sunderland has 'seceded' and 'apostatised,' because he is now 'selling ghosts by the dollar's worth in Boston.'"

Perhaps you will be willing to reprint the whole passage, to a portion of which Mr. Sunderland objects, that your readers may see how far his complaint is well grounded.

"New Organization is dead, long ago. Or, if it survive, it is only in the person of Mr. Lewis Tappan, who sits like a second *Minotaur* among the ruins of another *California*, and meditates upon the mutability of human affairs. And the men who promoted that *Secession*, have long since gone to their own place. After we have seen Mr. Stanton moving to lay Anti-Slavery Resolutions on the table in the New York Senate; Mr. Leavitt retiring to a subordinate post on the staff of a Religious paper; Mr. Birney an advocate of Colonization; Mr. Charles W. Denison, the Birney-Taylor-Westboro-Pierce man, promoted from the Penitentiary at Washington to the Consulate at Denmark; Mr. Laroccy Sunderland selling ghosts by the dollar's worth, in Boston; and another Reverend Gentleman, who shall be nameless, (as he has returned home, and may have repented,) selling mar by the glass in San Francisco; after having seen these things, and many more, we really think New Organization does not need killing over again."

The purpose of the article in question was, to show that there was no occasion for recapitulating the facts preceding and accompanying the formation of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, (described as the Apostasy of 1840,) because all the promoters of that measure had long been out of our way. The material part, as regards what I said about Mr. Sunderland, is, whether he was a prominent New Organizationist in 1840, and whether he is active in that cause now. Mr. Sunderland was a member of the Executive Committee of the American A. S. Society, in 1840, and was present at the meeting held April 16th of that year, (which he opened with prayer,) at which the *Emancipator* and the rest of the property of the Society was transferred, on pretence of their not being able to raise three hundred dollars to continue the paper for three weeks, while, at the same meeting, they voted eight hundred dollars to enable Messrs. Birney and Stanton to take a trip to Europe. I presume Mr. Sunderland will not deny that he voted for these measures, or that he helped form the hostile Society in May.

This, I think, establishes the fact, that Mr. S. was one that 'promoted that *Secession*.' Since that time, I have lost sight of him, as connected with the Anti-Slavery movement. Indeed, your statement in the remarks you appended to his letter, that 'he has not been visible, as a public laborer in the Anti-Slavery cause, for several years,' covers all the rest of the ground, and my remarks about him. I merely implied that he was prominent in promoting New Organization in 1840, and that he had 'not been visible for several years,' in connection with it.

As to Mr. Sunderland's 'selling ghosts by the dollar's worth,' I meant to say what I supposed to be true, that money was taken at his house, in full, or in part, on his account, in consideration of communications with the *Spiritual World*. Of course, it is perfectly immaterial to my position, whether he sold his ghosts or gave them away. And I do not understand him as denying that money has been taken at his house for these services, but, only, that it was received for his benefit. Of course, I could know nothing of the disposition that was made of the proceeds of the business. I only know that spiritual manifestations were made at his house, and for money.

As to the specific sum asked for the wares in question, I am quite sure that a dollar was the precise amount which Common Bunker, who, indeed, is often a Common Liar) stated at his retail price. And I remember, distinctly, that an excellent friend of ours, in another State, who is now in an Insane Asylum, after having given nearly his entire property to a Medium, by spiritual direction, wrote to me, two or three years ago, enclosing two dollars, with a request that I would go to Mr. Sunderland's, and obtain an interview with the spirit of his brother, paying one dollar to Mr. S. for his

pains, and keeping the other for mine. Notwithstanding the temptation of this 'most sweet garden,' from an early (though, perhaps, a vulgar) prejudice against embodied spirits, my nerves were not equal to the adventure. So I transferred the letter and the funds to a more robust friend, by whom, as I never heard any thing more about it, I take it for granted the business was happily accomplished.

Whether, after these explanations, what I said in that article deserves to be characterized as 'a sheer fabrication, an unmitigated falsehood,' is a question which I am quite willing to leave to the decision of your readers. E. Q.

## JOHN MITCHEL, THE SLAVEHOLDER AND SLAVE-BREEDER.

BOSTON, Jan'y 29d, 1854.  
DEAR GARRISON.—John Mitchel, the far-famed Irish patriot, has hoisted his flag, on which he has inscribed, JOHN MITCHEL, THE SLAVE-BREEDER, SLAVE-TRADER, AND SLAVE-DRIVER. It is well. He has revealed his heart, and now only waits for somebody to put him in a position in which he can, practically, breed, sell, and drive slaves. His language is, in substance, 'Oh! for a plantation of slaves in Alabama. Will somebody have pity on me, and give me a plantation, well stocked with healthy negroes, that I may show them how an Irish patriot can raise up children for the market, sell his daughters to the highest bidder, and drive men and women to unrequited toil?'

I say it is well. John Mitchel has only spoken out in plain English, what was spoken by Webster in his 7th of March Speech, and by all who created and have sought to sustain the Fugitive Slave Bill; and what was spoken by the Whig and Democratic Platforms, adopted in Baltimore in 1852; and what was spoken by Rev. Doctors Dewey, Sharp, Rogers, and other Reverend Divines, when they brought in their God to sustain the law; and by the recent Webster Celebration at the Revere House, when a toast was offered and drunk, with three cheers from all present, which united the 4th of July, 1776, with the 7th of March, 1850—to be held in union, everlasting remembrance—the former, memorable for declaring that all men are created free; the latter, for settling the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and consecrating this entire nation to everlasting slave-hunting. When John Mitchel represents Christ as the champion of slave-driving and slave-hunting, he only says, in plain English, what the great mass of the churches and ministers of this nation have declared, in other forms, the past twenty years. He has shown that Irish patriotism and Irish religion are just as hostile to mankind, as American patriotism and American religion—and no more so. Both are devilish enemies to mankind, and an insult to Justice and Truth.

And John Mitchel is here, to urge all Irish emigrants to hasten to become slaveholders and slave-hunters—to embitter those people against European tyrants, and to stimulate them to become tyrants of a far more malignant and bloody stamp! LIBERTY AND SLAVERY are his watchwords—Liberty for the Irish, Slavery for Americans; Liberty for the laborers of Ireland, Slavery for the laborers of the United States. From this hour, led on by this Irish Benedict Arnold, Irish emigrants must more urgently seek to become slave-drivers and slave-hunters; unless, as I hope may be the case, they turn, with disgust, upon the traitor. Will they? We shall see.

But I wish to call the attention of your readers to an allusion made by this Mitchel to JAMES HAUGHTON. He says of him—alluding to the famine in Ireland, of '46-'47.—'He (Mr. Haughton) stored up corn, hoarded it like gold, always hoping the market would rise to the very dearest, until it rotted in his store, and was thrown into the river Liffey.' John Mitchel undoubtedly knew that he was uttering a cowardly and malignant falsehood, where he said this. The life of Mr. Haughton needs no vindication from such a charge by John Mitchel, when both are known. But, this Benedict Arnold took it for granted, that, in New York, under the Union Saving Committee, he could not only be a traitor with impunity, but also the cowardly assassin. In 1847, when the famine was at its height, I was two months in Dublin and vicinity, and often met those who were most active in practical efforts to relieve the sufferers, and to secure them against a recurrence of the evil. Among them, none were more active and efficient than JAMES HAUGHTON. The corn merchants of Ireland did indeed suffer much from the loss of corn—these were wholly wrecked. A vast quantity of corn did rot; but, instead of being hoarded and rotting in their stores, it was shipped in America in a bad condition, and reached Ireland in a worthless state; and rather than distribute it, those who imported it cast it away, and suffered the loss, rather than the means of filling the nation with disease, and thus adding to the horrors of famine. Whatever corn was thrown into the Liffey by Mr. Haughton, was cast in for this cause. I was often at his house, and lived among those who knew him best, and never heard this charge made against him, till made by John Mitchel.

I did know that John Mitchel cherished personal ill-will to Mr. Haughton, because he would advocate liberty for blacks as well as whites—for Africans as well as Irishmen. I did know that John Mitchel, and his colleagues, were highly incensed against O'CONNELL, because he would not accept from American slaveholders, money to aid the cause of liberty in Ireland; and that DANIEL O'CONNELL and JAMES HAUGHTON became particularly offensive to them, because they would not sanction their earnest desire to appeal to war, rapine and murder, to carry Repeal, and because these two gentlemen would denounce, in Repeal meetings, American slaveholders as well as English oppressors. It is true, O'Connell and Mr. Haughton did become a 'weariness and a bore' to John Mitchel and his unprincipled partners, solely because they 'poured out their indignation upon man-stealers and cradle-plunderers.' John Mitchel, himself being violent, was always in favor of 'man-stealing and cradle-plundering.' For this, he was often and sternly rebuked by James Haughton and Daniel O'Connell, and for this, they became to him a 'weariness and a bore.'

But John Mitchel will go to his own place. Ireland is well rid of him. As a traitor to liberty, he will find little sympathy among his fellow-traitors here. The best thing he could do, for his own reputation, would be to imitate the Judas of old, and go and hang himself.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

TO CORRESPONDENTS. We regret that we are again compelled (in consequence of the great length of the proceedings of the late annual meeting) to postpone the communications of Rev. Hiram Wilson and Dr. Grandin, as well as several others, which we have on file for insertion.

The Lines of G. W. Bungay shall appear in our next number.

N. S. of Duxbury, is respectfully informed that our columns are wholly insufficient to enable us to find room for what he desires us to publish in THE LIBERATOR. Besides, we are very sure our readers would not feel interested in his lucubrations.

DON'T FORGET THE FAIR. The friends of the Anti-Slavery movement, (and who will not befriend it at this crisis, in view of the fearful strides and astounding machinations of the Slave Power?)—In Middlesex and Worcester, are earnestly solicited to extend a liberal patronage to the FAIR, which is to be held at FITCHBURG, on Wednesday and Thursday of next week. On Wednesday evening, Wendell Phillips will address the assembly. We hope there will be a crowded attendance.

LECTURES ON THE AUTHORITY AND INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE. It will be seen, by an advertisement in another column, that JOSEPH BARKER, of Ohio, will commence a course of lectures on this radically important subject, on Tuesday evening next, at the Melodion.

Go and hear him, by all means. Is there no able and respectable clergyman in all this region, to accept his invitation to a public discussion?

Slavery Plot in Kentucky.—We learn from the Louisville Courier, that Henry county, Ky. has recently been the scene of considerable excitement, arising from the discovery of a plot of some slaves to murder a family, because they thought one of their number had been sold, and then to make their escape to Canada. The family which it was proposed to murder was named Herndon. The hearts of the conspirators failed. The negroes thought of no other than to murder the family, and being questioned, confessed the plot, implicating a large number of negroes and one white man. Several of the slaves concerned have been sold.

Severe Weather.—We have received accounts from various quarters, of the severity of the cold on Saturday night and Sunday morning. In Boston, the thermometer was 6 below zero; in Roxbury, Dorchester, Waltham, Northboro', 15; in Roxbury, Newton, Salem, 12; in Marblehead and New Bedford, 7; in Warren, P. L., 6; in Portland, 18, and in Bolton, 17, all below zero.

Steamer Burnt.—Sad Disaster.—The steamer Georgia, from Montgomery, Alabama, caught fire on Saturday night, 28th ult., and was totally destroyed with most of the cargo, consisting of more than 1000 bales of cotton; nearly 60 passengers, mostly emigrants to Texas, and 30 slaves, were destroyed. Many others were missing. Loss of property over \$80,000.

Rhode Island All Right.—Resolutions against the Nebraska Bill have passed both branches of the Rhode Island Legislature, by a unanimous vote.

## COLLECTIONS.

By the Finance Committee, for Expenses of Annual Meeting, January, 1854.

Francis Jackson	\$5.00	G. W. F. Mellen	0.50
Samuel May, Jr.	1.00	G. M. Miles	0.50
William Whiting	1.00	Alvan Howes	1.00
Henrietta Sargent	5.00	Edmund Quincy	1.00
G. Turner	0.25	Richard Clay	1.00
H. W. Blanchard	1.00	A. Foster	2.00
Edwin Thompson	0.50	Mrs. Dodge	1.00
John Howe	1.00	L. P. Danforth	1.00
Geo. W. Simonds	0.50	Jacob Leonard	1.00
G. W. Putnam	0.50	M. A. Ford	1.00
Eden's Hayne	0.25	G. A. Wallis	1.00
C. L. Barbauld	0.25	H. B. S.	1.00
David P. Harmon	1.00	S. H. Lewis	0.25
Mr. Ritchie	2.00	L. Meyer	0.25
Edw. B. Perkins	1.00	Richard Clay, Jr.	0.50
William Spooner	1.00	Peter Randolph	0.50
Stephen Barker	1.00	Reuben H. Ober	1.00
Mrs. R. W. Henshaw	1.00	A. C. Taft	1.00
James Bell	0.25	J. W. Pepper	1.00
M. S. Butler	1.00	J. D. Ayres	5.00
John S. Rogers	1.00	D. B. Pease	1.00
L. Hayden	1.00	D. S. Whitney	1.00
S. C. Foster	0.50	Josiah Hayward	1.00
E. Richards	1.00	Perley King	1.00
J. C. Gleason	0.50	Jonah H. Riggs	1.00
E. Schlegel	0.50	Austin Beebe	0.50
T. W. Harris	0.50	Daniel Rickerson	1.00
F. Douglass	0.50	C. Bramhall	1.00
J. C. Lindsey	1.00	J. Jones	1.00
W. D. Brewster	1.00	John Clement	1.00
James N. Buffum	2.00	John M. Spear	1.00
W. Wilson	1.00	A. T. Foss	1.00
S. Whitmore	1.00	A. Stanwood	1.00
W. S. Adams	1.00	A. S. Stockman	1.00
A. B. Morey	1.00	William Ashby	1.00
John C. Haynes	1.00	John Rogers	1.00
Samuel Dyer	1.00	Wm. L. Garrison	1.00
Samuel Reed	1.00	H. E. Weston	0.50
H. B. Briggs	1.00	M. R. Ayres	0.50
B. Phillips	1.00	Mrs. May	3.00
Isaac Pinkham	0.50	Mrs. E. F. Eldy	1.00
Johnston Davee	1.00	Joseph Merrill	1.00
Marianne Stephens	1.00	Mrs. Haskell	0.50
E. D. Draper	1.00	P. P. Ayres	1.00
Lizzie S. Woodcock	0.25	Philander Shaw	1.00
A. Parkinson	1.00	Z. W. H. Spooner	1.00
Aaron Lee	0.50	B. Spooner	1.00
J. B. Barnard	1.00	H. B. Spooner	1.00
Frederic H. Henshaw	1.00	H. E. Garrison	1.00
E. D. Cheney	1.00	Nancy Lowell	1.00
John H. Robbins	1.00	S. Fowler	0.25
M. F. Littlehale	3.00	Paulina Gerry	1.00
M. A. Adams	1.00	E. Studley	0.25
Henry D. Stone	1.00	E. M. Shaw	1.00
Sarah H. Pillsbury	0.50	Otis G. Cheever	1.00
James Jackson	2.00	Mary K. Marcy	1.00
— Deal	1.00	T. Sargent	1.00
W. B. Arnold	1.00	E. Sprague	1.00
P. S. Crowell	1.00	M. R. Loughlin	0.50
P. B. Cogswell	1.00	D. Mitchell	1.00
D. B. Morey	1.00	Samuel Barrett	1.00
C. K. Whipple	0.25	E. Emerson	0.50
E. J. Jackson	1.00	T. C. Cook	1.00
John A. Coolidge, Jr.	1.00	Maria S. Page	0.50
Robert R. Crosby	1.00	Cash and friends,	16.97
Wm. Jenkins	1.00	in various sums,	
John Sargent	0.50	Also, received for Col-	
A. A. Bent	0.50	lections at the Door,	
L. D. Gray	1.00	three evenings,	77.07
Thomas Haskell	1.00		

## DONATIONS.

To Miss A. S. Society, at the Annual Meeting, January, 1854.

Richard Clay	\$20.00	Mrs. Mary E. Alden	1.00
William Ashby	10.00	George H. Waterman	1.00
William Whiting	10.00	R. Smith	1.00
A friend	5.00	M. S. Cogswell	1.00
A. A. Bent	5.00	D. W. Cogswell	1.00
Mrs. R. W. Henshaw	5.00	E. A. Lawton	1.00
David P. Harmon	5.00	F. Hinckley	1.00
Edward B. Perkins	4.00	S. Whitmore	1.00
Marshall Stanton	3.00	H. H. Williams	1.00
Caroline E. Putnam	2.00	Daniel Mann	1.00
E. P. Ayres	2.00	B. D. Mack	1.00
J. L. Whiting	2.00	Geo. J. Peterson	1.00
S. C. Fay	2.00	Silas Hollis	1.00
Mrs. C. Cowing	1.00	R. Rowland	1.00
John J. Sillway	1.00	Geo. W. Simonds	0.50
Sophia King	1.00	M. K. Whiting	0.50
John A. Allen	1.00	Mary Willey	0.50
D. Kimball	1.00	Several friends	4.50
Benjamin Paine	1.00	Cash	1.25
E. L. Capron	1.00	Thomas P. Knox	1.00
Samuel Tappan	1.00	S. P. Remond	1.00
Richard Clay, Jr.	1.00	S. P. Remond	1.00
Samuel Keen	2.00		

## PLEDGES.

Made to the Mass. A. S. Society, at the Annual Meeting, January, 1854.



